actually has provided the Orokaiva with a reliable and substantial cash income for some years. This is true to a very minor extent for the third cash crop promoted on a major scale, copra, which was grown especially near the coast. The coffee is processed and sent to a co-operative factory as parchment, for which purpose many villages own one or more hullers. Copra is supposed to be dried in driers built in the villages, but the one I saw in Inonda had broken down and seems unlikely to be repaired.

Clothing. The traditional Orokaiva costume was a skirt for women and a perineal band for men (Williams 1930: 32–4). Boys went naked until some time before puberty, girls until after puberty seclusion. These garments were made of barkcloth obtained from trees which were mostly grown in gardens for this purpose. Larger garments were used for wrapping round the shoulders in cold weather, and also for shrouds. This mode of dress was abandoned in the 1950s, so that today the Orokaiva buy their clothes almost entirely from trade stores and at mission bazaars. Traditional dress is used for dances, initiation ceremonies and other special occasions. For this reason bark-cloth trees (such as the *ajimo*) are found rather infrequently in gardens today. Bark-cloth is still being painted with decorations in traditional style and with a mixture of traditional and trade dyes.

Housing. Villages are in flat clearings where the grass is kept scrupulously cut and from which the women regularly sweep away rubbish. Houses (*bande*) are built in two facing rows, each house normally being occupied by one nuclear family. The roof of sago thatch slopes down from a central ridgepole. Wall construction has been in various styles since Australian contact, but today vertically set sago-branch midribs are becoming old fashioned in some areas and vertically laid shingles, about 6 ft. by 5⅜ ins., are being adopted in villages desiring to show they are tuned in to modern life. A great number of tree species must be used for the various parts of the house. Materials are taken as much as possible from reverted gardens which contain small trees. For a number of purposes large trees with trunks of high-quality slow-growing wood are considered essential. These trees have to be obtained from areas of bush much older than the usual reverted gardens. On the Mount Lamington foothills, such areas are very scarce. Trees of this quality tend to be the subject of gift exchange as between families, a subject to be discussed below.

Though it is each man's responsibility to build his own house, it is usual to call on helpers, especially sons, brothers and brothers-in-law, to help with construction. Recent changes in house construction include the increasing use of nails, though not for flooring; a remarkable increase in house sizes; the change in wall construction already mentioned, and a number of measures to 'improve' hygiene: lavatories, rubbish holes, pens for chickens, windows. The windows, an innovation promoted by the government to combat tuberculosis, are considered too uncomfortable in cold, wind or rain. Accordingly, they are always covered over with pieces of timber which can be removed if the patrol officer insists.[6]

Bachelors' houses (*oro*) are of precisely the same size and construction as the ordinary *bande*. The more prominent men of the village build themselves small meeting platforms, covered with a roof but lacking walls, for the entertainment of visitors (*arara*). In the gardens, we find small houses with an earth floor, no walls, but a platform just below roof level. People sit in these garden houses

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 251]

353 *tapa* cloths, also worn on ceremonial occa-
[415] sions; often nowadays mother's best dress and father's best shorts and shirt are also kept in this box. Everyday tools—fishing spears, pig spear, bush knife, and axe—are stored between the floor joists under the floor platform. A
[302] bundle of dry firewood may be stored under the house in case of a prolonged spell of wet
[227] weather. The dwelling of each clan fishing-leader is easily recognized by the large seine net hung to dry under the eaves or rolled in a corner of the verandah.

342 The Yega build one other form of dwelling, a garden shelter (*dobo*) usually roughly constructed with leaf walls, frequently open at one end and often so low from floor to roof that a person cannot stand erect in it. A *dobo* is a temporary dwelling, built near the swidden in current use, and used by a man and his family for up to a week at a time while they are working in their gardens, which may be three or four miles from the village. The *dobo* is also used to shelter from rain or to take a siesta during shorter, one-day visits to the garden.

343 A *gaga* is simply a talking platform where
[461] men sit for a chat, a chew (of betelnut) or a
[614] smoke during siesta time, or after the day's work is done. There is usually at least one *gaga* for each clan in a village. The *gaga* per-
[627] forms an important social function for it is
[584] here that quarrels are settled, marriages arranged, and the everyday problems and business of the village discussed and finalised.

291 Everyday clothing is a pair of shorts and maybe a shirt or a singlet for boys and men, and a cotton dress or skirt for girls and women.
[287] The traditional body covering for both men
[191] and women was beaten out bark-cloth of the paper mulberry tree. This is used throughout the Pacific and is known as *tapa*. *Tapa* skirts and loin cloths are still worn on special occasions, such as weddings and New Year singings, while many older people wear *tapa* to
323 church on Sundays. The Yega and their neigh-
[289] bours are expert tapa-makers but they did not have either the suitable clay or the art of pot-
439 making. They used to trade their *tapa* for pots from Ambasi, thirty miles to the north, and
[178] from Wanigela, 100 miles to the south. This trade has now declined because everybody can

[P.11-A] [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 12-A]

18: Dakeyne K-5 (1962-1964) 1969
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Yega

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Fig. 8. *Bark-cloth (tapa). Each manufacturer has her own special designs traced in red and black dyes on the white material.*

[P.11-B]

276 from relatives who live in the mountain districts or else obtained
439 by barter, or bought from other villages or at the Popondetta market.

Sago is made and eaten when other crops fail, but the plants
245 are also used as building material. As the supply of sago is very
[262] limited in both villages, the plants are highly prized. Inonda people owned only 21 trees so that the bulk of supplies was obtained from other areas, e.g., from wild sago trees over which they claim rights. In Sivepe, the total supply is in the vicinity of, probably, 300. This suffices for the local need, both as an occasional supplementation of the food supply and for building, when a great quantity is needed.

[799] The special position of sago among economic trees was shown clearly in Miss White's description of the building of Sasembata mission station shortly after the eruption. This was a big project in which all the surrounding villages (including Sivepe) collaborated. Labour was given free and so were all building materials--apart from sago for which payment was expected and made. I was told by informants this was because sago is a cultivated, not a bush tree. During my field work period, the mission again needed sago roofing for expansion and repair of buildings, but this time no payment was made. However, each household was asked for a contribution of only two strips of roofing. Thus, it was again treated as a resource of special value as other materials were not supplied in such strict rations.

The ajimo tree, used for manufacturing bark cloth was not reported in Inonda by Crocombe and Hogbin but we did find a small
[287] quantity growing. Though bark cloth is only used for dancing costumes nowadays, in both villages, these dances still take place from time to time. The women's clubs have stimulated the production of painted bark cloth for sale, but this has not led to extra plantings. Sivepe's supply of ajimo trees was only one or two for most households, sufficient for an occasional festive garment with none to spare, but there was an abundance of ajimo in some other villages in the Sasembata district. Here we may notice a definite change between the pre-eruption period and the present at pre-eruption Inonda and because at Pamba, bark cloth was still the daily wear for everybody, so that the ajimo was an important economic tree. With this exception, there would seem to have been no change in the resources of economic trees of local origin.

The three introduced cash crops of significance in the two
241 villages have been rice (pre-eruption), coffee and rubber; in
177 both villages, one man grew a little cocoa. These industries, which developed in intensive interaction with Australian authorities, are perhaps better discussed in detail in a later chapter when these
[243] relationships are analyzed. Rice plots were developed in the period between the second world war and the eruption; the plots in both